

American

FEDERATIONIST

MARCH 1958

TWENTY CENTS

UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

MAR 12 1958

America Needs Jobs NOW PERIODICAL
READING ROOM

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Don't Forget the Primaries

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The National School Emergency

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FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

MARCH, 1958

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

Vol. 65, No. 3

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Man the Reformer

What is a man born for but to be a reformer, a remaker of what man has made; a renouncer of lies; a restorer of truth and good, imitating that great Nature which embosoms us all, and which sleeps no moment on an old past, but every hour repairs herself, yielding us every morning a new day and with every pulsation a new life?

The power, which is at once spring and regulator in all efforts of reform, is the conviction that there is an infinite worthiness in man which will appear at the call of worth and that all particular reforms are the removing of some impediment.

See this wide society of laboring men and women. We allow ourselves to be served by them, we live apart from them and meet them without a salute in the streets. We do not greet their talents, nor rejoice in their good fortune, nor foster their hopes, nor in the assembly of the people vote for what is dear to them.

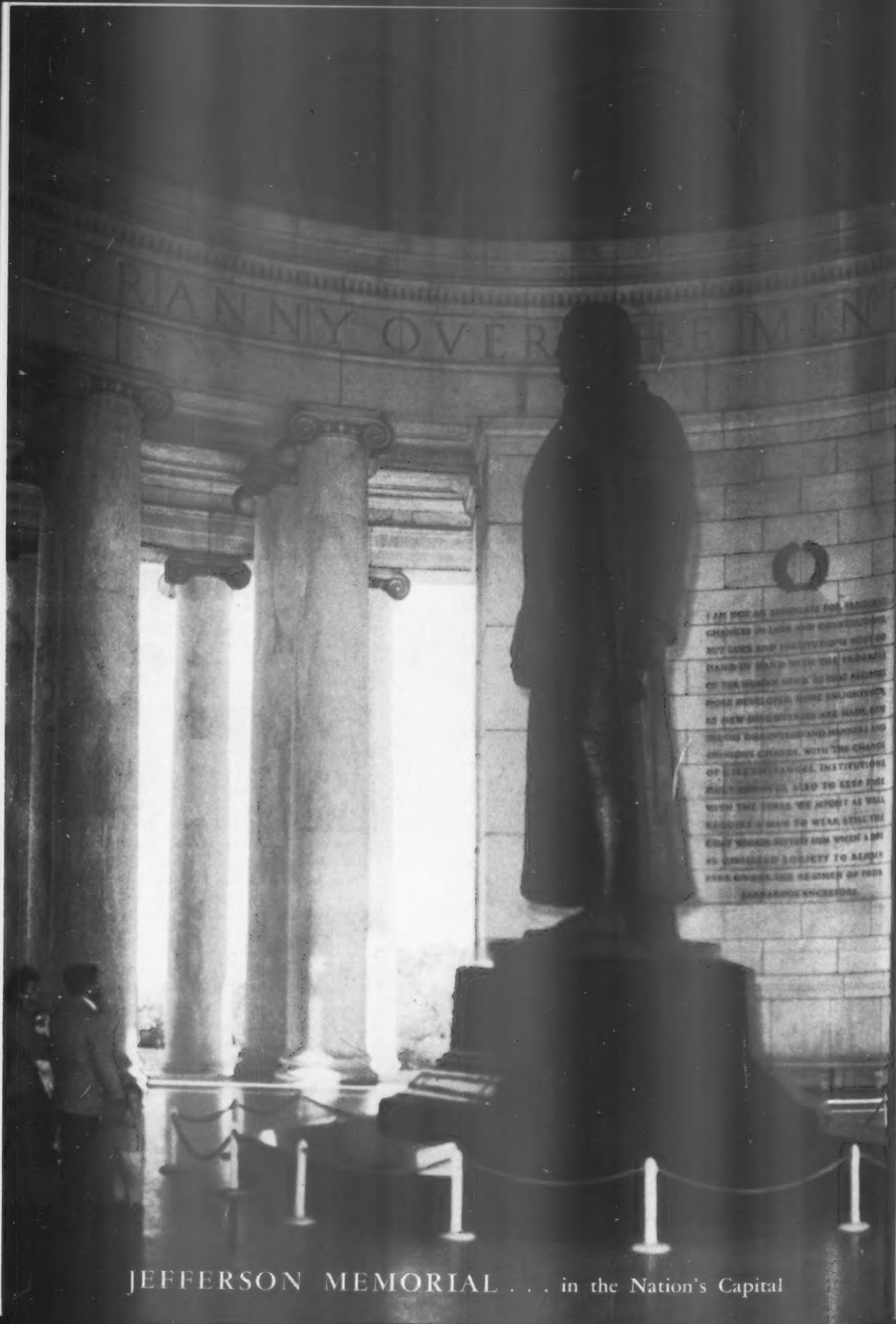
We complain that the politics of masses of the people are controlled by designing men, and let in opposition to manifest justice and the common weal, and to their own interest. But the people do not wish to be represented or ruled by the ignorant and base. They only vote for these because they were asked with the voice and semblance of kindness. They will not vote for them long. They inevitably prefer wit and probity.

Let our affection flow out to our fellows; it would operate in a day the greatest of all revolutions. It is better to work on institutions by the sun than by the wind.

The state must consider the poor man and all voices must speak for him. Every child that is born must have a just chance for his bread.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1841.

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JEFFERSON MEMORIAL . . . in the Nation's Capital

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Americans Need Jobs NOW

Eisenhower Report Lacks Realism

By STANLEY H. RUTTENBERG
Director, AFL-CIO Department of Research

ECONOMIC statistics are more than just numbers. At this time they tell an unpleasant story about the present state of the economy.

About 4,500,000 Americans were out of work in January. More people were unemployed than at any time since 1950. Even during the 1954 recession, unemployment did not reach this height.

But this number—4,500,000—applies only to the “full-time” unemployed. It does not measure the loss in working time or in take-home pay caused by lower production. In December, the nation’s manufacturing workers were employed the lowest average number of hours since before World War II—39.3 hours per week.

Unemployment insurance claims in January were much higher than the normal seasonal rise could explain. In mid-January total claims exceeded mid-December claims by approximately 825,000. The year before a comparable increase was only about half as great. Even in the recession of 1953-54, it was only 550,000.

Recent Labor Department statistics have added twenty-one communities to the list of labor market areas with “substantial labor surplus” (meaning that more than 6 per cent of the labor force is out of work). That makes the total forty-five.

These figures are not mere statistics. They point to millions of individual workers who have been laid off and cannot find new jobs. They point to communities and industrial cities like Pittsburgh and Bridgeport where the level of unemployment is large enough to cause problems for all parts of the population.

In short, they point to the fact that Americans need work now.

Other economic statistics also warn of dangers. The nation’s total output of goods and services has been going down at a time when economic growth is imperative. Between the third and fourth quarter of last year, the figure dropped from a yearly rate of \$439 billion to \$433 billion, and output was continuing to fall at the beginning of this year.

Consumer buying power declined

productive capacity, and a decline in capital goods investment is expected in the first quarter of 1958—from a yearly rate of \$36.8 billion in the first quarter last year to a \$35.5 billion yearly rate.

DESPITE mounting unemployment, falling output and these other economic warning signals, the President’s Economic Report in January hopefully told Congress that “the decline in business activity need not be prolonged.” These reassuring words have not fooled business, labor or academic economists who attacked the lack of realism in the report.

Even worse, it is clear that the report has failed to propose a program to meet today’s three-fold challenge:

1. Reversing the current economic downturn is a responsibility of the government *right now*. The report’s hope that this condition won’t be “prolonged” does nothing to cure real and current problems. We now have 4,500,000 Americans out of work. We

are losing the production of important goods because of falling output. We are losing needed revenue because of declining business activity. These problems won’t just blow away.

2. America faces the problem of meeting the Soviet challenge. Time is a most important factor. We cannot afford to wait to see whether the economy might turn upward in the second half of this year. We must make the money, minds and goods of our country available to make sure the Russians do not surpass us in technological, scientific or military fields. A declining economy hampers our chances. A growing economy



The combination of no work and the blasts of winter spells misery.

1 per cent between the third and fourth quarters of 1957 and is continuing to drop as a result of rising unemployment and shorter work-weeks. Industrial production fell over 2 per cent in December, a drop of almost 3 per cent below December, 1956. With the index still falling, it was estimated that the drop from January, 1957, to January, 1958, was almost 10 per cent.

Freight loadings have been dropping since last summer. The decline from September to December was 26 per cent—causing layoffs for workers in the railroad industry.

American industry has been operating at about 25 per cent below



The jobless are jamming unemployment insurance offices to file their applications for benefits.

would make our basis for meeting the challenge secure.

3. America has a growing population—a population requiring expansion of economic and social programs necessary to our way of life. Programs must be started now to meet these needs. Programs previously started must be expanded—not curtailed—if we want to promote the health and welfare of our citizens.

By failing to recognize and suggest ways to meet the current challenge, the President's Economic Report has failed to carry out the requirements of the Employment Act of 1946.

This law says that the President must submit a report to Congress each year on current and projected economic conditions and must suggest a program to "promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

Evidently prospects of next November's returns have made it seem politically impractical to report the facts realistically and propose pro-

grams that would carry out the duty imposed by this law.

Though prosperity, security and a balanced budget are political goals for "proper" returns next November, needed action for the economy and for security might produce an unbalanced budget temporarily. The solution to this dilemma seems to have been to place almost mystical emphasis on the balanced budget—and hope that security and prosperity will be produced just by the power of thinking everything will be all right.

But it is dangerous and deceptive to make such a report to Congress. Even if the Administration is correct in thinking that the second half of this year will show a slight improvement, we will have lost millions of dollars worth of production, millions of productive man-hours and millions in revenue.

Even if there is some upturn—and there is no absolute assurance that there will be—unemployment will not just blow away. A serious unemployment problem will exist

for some time. Joblessness will continue long after an upturn starts, and the Administration admits that not much change in direction can be expected before June.

THE reasons that a change would not affect unemployment immediately are quite clear.

First of all, if new orders increase or production picks up, unemployed workers will not be hired right away. The first step will be to lengthen hours of work for the people now employed.

Secondly, the report itself contains indications that productivity will increase. This means that even greater output would be possible without hiring a single additional worker.

Furthermore, the labor force increases every year. In the past five years 800,000 persons, on the average, have joined the ranks of those looking for jobs.

Despite these realities, the President's Economic Report pays very little attention to the critical question

of unemployment. In the section called "Appraisal of the Current Economic Situation," neither "employment" nor "unemployment" is mentioned. It is in this section that the report cheerfully says that the decline need not be "prolonged." This is a curious fact in a report whose purpose is supposed to be the promotion of "maximum employment" as well as maximum production and purchasing power.

The report, however, does give some economic reasons for its optimistic view. Three factors are emphasized as positive signs for economic improvement: increased military contract placements, higher state and local government spending, and an upturn in construction.

IT is true that the Defense Department will put about \$4 billion to \$4.5 billion more into contracts during the first half of 1958 than at the low point last year, but the present budget shows that the rise will not continue in the last half of this year. While \$4 billion to \$4.5 billion would have some positive effects on the economy, it isn't enough to insure the results the Administration has predicted.

Nor do proposed expenditures by state and local governments look promising. These governments have been taking in less and less money because the whole economy has been heading downward. They may decide that since they have less money to spend, they will cut back some of the projects formerly planned.

Even though the "tight money" policy has been eased slightly and state and local bonds may be offered at lower interest rates, there is no strong basis for forecasting a larger upturn in state and local spending.

Construction does not seem to improve the picture either. In 1957 the physical volume of construction was behind the level of 1956. Though government agencies predict that construction spending will go up about 5 per cent, part of this upturn in volume will be counteracted by higher costs. As a result, the construction rise in volume will not reach the 5 per cent figure. Nor will enough more homes be built in 1958 to give much hope of a large upturn in that area.

Surely these weak bases for pre-

dicting an upturn cannot satisfy the American people. It is not responsible for the Administration to grasp at them to make possible a psychological basis for a balanced budget proposal that may jeopardize needed defense requirements and probably will threaten the fulfillment of the economic and social needs of the American people.

The President's Economic Report should have recognized the psychological and economic facts of life. A downturn with rising unemployment and declining production calls for programs that will build economic strength now. Economic prosperity will give the United States a strong base for all defense needs and social and economic progress requirements.

We cannot afford to wait for a program to meet these problems. These actions must be taken now:

1. Defense spending should be stepped up to meet whatever is necessary to restore strength to our military establishment—regardless of the budget.

2. Consumer spending must be encouraged rather than discouraged by the Administration. Increases in wages and salaries are essential now.

3. Tax cuts in the form of raising individual exemptions by \$100 would

reduce the tax burden on low- and middle-income families.

4. Coverage of the Wage and Hour Law should be extended to millions of low-wage workers, and the minimum wage should be upped to \$1.25 per hour.

5. Comprehensive federal housing and urban redevelopment programs are essential.

6. The social security system should be improved.

7. Federal legislation for additional uniform minimum standards for state unemployment insurance systems is necessary now.

8. Federal aid to the states for school construction cannot wait for tomorrow's children.

9. A federal program of assistance to distressed areas is vital.

The time for action on these items is the present. Joblessness and military security cannot be ignored while we hope for better times.

This nation was not built on a cost accountant's ledger but by democratic efforts to promote the general welfare of the nation and its citizens. This is not the time to look for a bookkeeper's paradise. We must move without delay to strengthen the nation and the economy for the benefit of the American people.



In Memphis thousands lined up to get free food from government stocks. Senator Albert Gore (holding package) urges public works to make jobs.



The Executive Council developed policies to combat unemployment and anti-labor legislation.

Council's Winter Meeting

A BUSY SESSION

By HENRY C. FLEISHER

TO PLAY on the words of that old popular song, trouble is one thing America and its labor movement have plenty of, baby.

Unemployment . . . international crisis . . . restrictive labor legislation and so-called "right to work" laws—all of these are troublesome items for labor and the entire nation. So it was no surprise that the midwinter meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council spent its eight-day session last month developing policies to combat the twin menaces of joblessness and

anti-labor legislation. As the Council was finishing its meeting, official government figures released in Washington reported that unemployment in the nation had reached the 4,500,000 level—and the trend is still sharply upward.

President George Meany, noting that joblessness is nearing the 5,000,000 danger mark where the drop in purchasing power begins to "feed upon itself," voiced doubt about the optimistic statements of the Eisenhower Administration that the situa-

tion would "automatically" correct itself in the next few months.

The Executive Council, which last August had caused a stir and some criticism from Administration quarters for pointing out that the recession had already started—big business quarters weren't then ready to admit the fact—called for sharply accelerated governmental programs to avert hardship among unemployed workers and to start fast-moving programs which would halt the economy's dangerous downward trend.

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"The widening gap between falling production and our growing capacity to produce can be closed and full employment and full production achieved if we but have the will," the Council pointed out.

A national unemployment conference, to be held in Washington March 11 to 13 under AFL-CIO auspices, will bring together leaders of the trade union movement, Congress and the Administration for a serious discussion of the problem of getting America back to full employment.

"We are convinced that this wasteful and needless recession can be ended," the Executive Council said. It suggested, as steps in that direction, a many-sided program: increased and urgently needed defense production, vigorous collective bargaining to lift wage rates and provide buying power, adequate unemployment compensation in the states—to be achieved by lifting the minimum standards that Uncle Sam sets for the forty-eight states help for small businessmen and distressed communities, and heavy construction projects, including schools, houses and public facilities.

The AFL-CIO conference on unemployment is expected to bring together a thousand or more delegates from every section of the country. They will confer with Congressmen and Senators on legislative proposals and in a series of smaller panel sessions exchange information about problems and experiences in their own sections of the country.

A second "trouble" faced by the Executive Council is the growing campaign for legislation to regulate and weaken trade unions. Since the McClellan Committee started its exposure of corruption in some few unions, a number of bills have been dropped in the Congressional hopper.

In the states growing propaganda campaigns have been launched by Chambers of Commerce, anti-labor corporations and ultra-conservative groups for the passage of laws to make illegal union shop contracts between unions and employers. These laws, masquerading under the phony title of "right to work," are designed to prevent the traditional labor-management practice of agreement that all workers in an enterprise should be members of the union which signs the contract.



Putting a halt to economic downtrend is discussed at Miami Beach meeting by Walter P. Reuther, Auto Workers' president, and Peter Schoemann, Plumbers' leader and a new member of Council.



During recess James B. Carey (left), president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, chats with Paul Phillips, head of Papermakers and Paperworkers. It was the first meeting for latter.



In photo snapped during session are, from left, Presidents David McDonald, Steelworkers; Karl Feller, Brewery Workers; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters, and Lee W. Minton, Glass Bottle Blowers.

As labor spokesmen have pointed out, the requirement that new workers join the union is a form of democratic citizenship in the factory, shop or project, since the union by law must represent all the workers and can act most responsibly only when all the workers support the union which has helped to lift wages and bring better working conditions and fringe benefits.

The "right to work" laws, already passed in eighteen states, would ban such agreements, even if both the employer and all his employees were in favor of them.

Millions of dollars have been poured into campaigns to bring about this type of short-sighted legislation, the Executive Council pointed out. Advocates of "wreck" laws are seeking not only to outlaw the union shop, the Council said, but to weaken "the ability of unions to serve adequately and effectively the interests of their members at the collective bargaining table."

However, the situation is "not all dark," the statement said. "Union members are increasingly alert to the dangers of the so-called 'right to work' laws, and so too are growing numbers of citizens not connected with the labor movement, who recognize that sound, strong unions play

an important and constructive part in helping maintain the American economy.

Through a special committee of three Executive Council members—Vice-Presidents Joseph Beirne, Albert Hayes and James Suffridge—the AFL-CIO intends to wage a major battle to defeat state anti-union laws in the states where they now threaten—California, Ohio, Washington, Idaho, Delaware, Kansas and Kentucky.

Because of the many and often-conflicting bills concerning labor unions and labor-management relations, the situation in Congress is somewhat less clear-cut than in the "right to work" fights in the various states. These bills have come from Senators friendly to labor, from Senators bitterly opposed to labor—and indeed from some Senators so little informed about the problem they wouldn't know a labor union if they saw one.

Declining to get too specific yet about this welter of legislative proposals, the Executive Council endorsed the broad legislative program passed by the recent AFL-CIO convention, adding:

"The AFL-CIO should continue strongly to support the Douglas bill to require full disclosure of all welfare fund finances, and the bill which has been offered to authorize the Sec-

retary of Labor to make public the financial reports unions are now required to file under Taft-Hartley."

But, the Council emphasized, "the AFL-CIO should continue strongly to oppose legislative proposals which, in the name of protecting workers from improper activities, would undermine self-government within the labor movement or weaken labor unions as the collective bargaining representatives of employees."

A continuing study of the legisla-



Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler presented reports on which the Council acted.

tive situation as it affects America's trade unions will be carried on by the Council, and a meeting of the General Board—a constitutional body comprising Council members and the heads of international unions—will conduct a full-dress discussion of the matter on April 28. The next Council meeting will convene a day later.

The Council statement took the form of acceptance of a report from the Ethical Practices Committee, the five-man group which during the past two years has drafted the AFL-CIO's six ethical practices codes and held hearings on a number of unions charged with corrupt influences in their leadership.

The committee underscored its fundamental belief that the AFL-CIO must continue to meet its responsibility for keeping its own house in order.

"Failure on our part to meet this responsibility can only result in governmental assumption of what are properly trade union functions," the statement said.

That the Council was determined to keep labor's house in order was obvious from a whole series of actions affecting the AFL-CIO's internal problems. A quick review will show the wide-scope handling of these problems:

▶The Council approved an agreement worked out by President Meany with the Building and Construction Trades Department and the Industrial Union Department for "machinery" aimed at resolving jurisdictional disputes in the so-called "gray area" between the clearly defined jurisdiction of the industrial unions (production and running maintenance) and the equally clear jurisdiction of the building trades unions (new construction). Two-man teams, one from each side, will represent Mr. Meany in seeking to work out peaceful settlements of industrial disputes as they arise.

▶The Council extended the use of the voluntary no-raiding agreement, which was signed prior to the AFL-CIO merger in 1955, to cover all raiding dispute cases, whether or not the unions are among the eighty signatories of the agreement. While the ruling of the impartial umpire, David L. Cole, is final and binding in cases involving signatories of the pact, he will issue only fact-finding statements and recommendations in the cases of unions which are not

Harrison Named Head Of International Group

THE International Affairs Committee of the AFL-CIO has a new chairman. He is George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and a vice-president of the united labor movement. He was appointed to the chairmanship by President George Meany.

Mr. Harrison, a member of the committee since 1955, is also a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Committee. He has been active in the International Transport Workers Federation, with which the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks is affiliated.

He succeeds Mr. Meany in the committee chairmanship.

Mr. Harrison also was named a substitute AFL-CIO member of



GEORGE M. HARRISON

the Executive Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. President Meany and Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO, are the members.

part of the voluntary agreement. Such unions may appeal their cases to President Meany and the Executive Council; in the past they had the right to take their cases directly to the president, but it was felt that use of the impartial umpire machinery might help to solve more quickly some of the disputes that have arisen.

▶Boycotts by one union of the goods or services made or performed by members of other unions will henceforth also go through the impartial umpire system, for fact-finding and recommendations.

▶Efforts to bring about voluntary merger of two groups of international unions which in the past have been at loggerheads will be attempted by subcommittees of the Council with President Meany. One such rivalry has been that between the United Textile Workers, a former AFL affiliate which has been under "probation" while it takes steps to clean up corrupt influences, and the Textile Workers Union, a former CIO affiliate. Another dispute which has erupted frequently has involved the Air Line Pilots and the Flight Engineers. It is the feeling of the Council that a merger of these two groups is highly desirable, particularly with the changes in functions that jet passenger planes are bring-

ing for the men who sit in the cockpits.

▶The Michigan state AFL and CIO bodies, which had been unable to make any appreciable progress toward the merger required by the AFL-CIO constitution, had their charters revoked by the Council. A new charter was issued for a combined state body, and all eligible local unions in the state were invited to attend a convention late in February to set the new Michigan AFL-CIO into operation.

▶The Ethical Practices Committee won Council endorsement of its decision to undertake formal investigations of two international unions against which charges of corrupt influences in the leadership have been made. One is the International Union of Operating Engineers, whose 74-year-old president, William Maloney, resigned at doctor's orders after the McClellan Committee had presented lengthy charges of financial mishandling involving the union's funds. The other is the International Jewelry Workers Union, against which charges of corrupt practices in the New York area have been made in recent months.

While the Executive Council itself did not concern itself with political matters, the administrative commit-



From left, President William C. Birthright of the Barbers, President Emeritus Charles J. MacGowan of Boilermakers and Blacksmiths and President Jacob Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

tee of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education held a one-day session during an interlude in the Council meetings.

Afterward, Director James L. McDevitt voiced "reasons for optimism" about labor's chances of helping to elect liberal candidates for office in the 1958 elections. He cited four factors as a basis for that optimism: a feeling among people that these elections are decisive and crucial contests, the outcome of which will be felt for many years; a reaction to the downturn in the economy, which has threatened the security of many million families of American wage-earners; the increasing political effectiveness that has accompanied AFL-CIO mergers in thirty states and hundreds of cities; and an upturn in the number of worker-voters who are getting their names on the voting registration lists.

COPE has no "blacklist" of candidates, Mr. McDevitt pointed out to reporters, since the political decisions are "made by the folks back home."

Not all of the Council's time, of course, was devoted to internal matters. In a series of resolutions, it called for improvements in the country's defense structure, lambasted the attack on social welfare programs and standards, called for improved education, social security and housing programs, and expressed its views on a number of matters of international concern.

The French air bombardment of a Tunisian village believed to harbor Algerian freedom fighters came in for particularly heavy denunciation by

the Council, which said its views the "continued military conflict in Algeria as a threat to world peace and freedom."

The Council urged President Eisenhower and the State Department to "discontinue all military and financial assistance which France uses to wage war against the Algerian people," and it called on the U.S. government to seek French compliance with United Nations resolutions so that hostilities may be ended, independence and democratic rights established, and the French and North African peoples eventually enabled to live at peace with each other.

AN analysis of recent Soviet diplomatic and propaganda moves aimed at advancing Soviet Russia's "basic aim of world conquest and Communist enslavement" was approved by the Council.

"The peoples of the free world must speed the build-up of their military, economic, political and scientific unity and strength to deter aggression and protect peace and freedom," the AFL-CIO leaders said. Military strength is not enough, particularly in view of the stepped-up economic penetration conducted by the Soviets in such underdeveloped countries as Egypt and Syria. To meet the challenge, closer cooperation on economic, political, scientific and cultural matters must be developed among the nations of the free world.

The Council suggested a six-point program aimed at implementing such a concept. It called for efforts to increase free world trade, to develop

water resources in many nations, to exchange information about atomic energy for civilian uses, to seek control and effective inspection of weapons, including both nuclear and missile. And it urged the United Nations to "prepare a plan for international control of outer space for peaceful purposes."

The Council hailed labor's role in overthrowing the ten-year-old dictatorship of the Perez Jimenez regime in Venezuela and pledged support to that country's redeveloping democratic labor movement. And it voiced sympathetic support for the recent strike of taxi drivers and hotel workers in the Bahamas.

Noting the struggle of the workers against hostile laws, the Council voiced hope that the British Trades Union Congress might be able to help remedy the situation in the Bahamas.



An active role was played by President Joseph A. Beirne of Communications Workers.

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Don't Forget the Primaries

By JAMES L. McDEVITT
National Director, COPE

THE other day I ran into a friend of mine who, after the usual chit-chat, asked how things looked for the 1958 Congressional elections. I explained that COPE is pretty busy right now working on this matter, and he showed some surprise.

"Why, the election isn't until next November," he said.

The fact of the matter is that the elections of next November will very largely be determined in the months between now and next November. Election Day—November 4, 1958—will merely put the frosting on the cake. These are the days when the batter is being mixed and the cake is being put in the oven.

Here are some of the ingredients that go into that batter:

First of all there is the record that Congress will make between now and the time it adjourns. Many people will make up their minds about how they will vote on the basis of the record, and October's campaign oratory won't do much to change them.

It is important for us in COPE to make sure each and every member of the AFL-CIO knows what is going on in Congress, why it's important to him and his family, what his particular Representative and Senators are doing, and what this action means.

The second ingredient is registration. In many states registration closes fairly early. In Texas and Mississippi people who have not paid their poll taxes are already counted out as far as this year's election is concerned. In most other states those who have not registered by at least the first of October might as well go fishing on Election Day.

State and local units of COPE have a man-sized (and woman-sized, too) job to do between now and the final registration dates to raise the level of registration among trade union members and their families.

A third ingredient is money. COPE's individual voluntary contri-

bution receipt books have been sent to the international and national unions. The sooner they are translated into dollars working in the campaign, the more effective they will be. Dollars in October won't do half the work that dollars in April will do.

And the final ingredient is the primary election. In Southern states that's where the election takes place. In other states that's where the field is narrowed down to two candidates.

THE importance of the primaries can be measured by this simple little example: Out of every 100 people living in a voting area, only sixty-five are registered. Of these sixty-five only forty will vote on Election Day, and of the forty only sixteen will vote in the primaries.

Of these sixteen, roughly eight will vote in the primary of one party and eight in the primary of the other.

A majority of eight is five, which means that 5 per cent of the voters will determine who the candidate of the party is in the general election.

Only a moment's thought is needed

to realize that you don't have to concern yourself about the outcome of the final election if you can dictate who the candidates in the election will be. At present 10 per cent of the voters determine who the candidates will be for the other 90 per cent of the voters.

We in COPE have long insisted that our elections will genuinely reflect the will of the country only when the candidates afford the voters a real choice. When there is no choice the voters are apathetic and the majority may be frustrated through the lack of any candidate who represents its point of view.

Too often in the past the state and local branches of COPE have been faced with the necessity of choosing between the lesser of two evils. Progress comes slowly this way, and the headlong rush of events in the past few months suggests to us we may not be able to afford this kind of luxury.

Election Day is important, but what really counts is the time between now and Election Day.

Let's start on the big job now.



COPE area conferences have proved useful in spreading the message about primaries' importance—and not only in the Southern states.

Labor's Role in Society

By GORDON G. CUSHING

*Executive Vice-President,
Canadian Labor Congress*

CONDENSED FROM AN ADDRESS TO THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO

UNIONS are organizations of necessity. They were born of the workers' need to protect and defend themselves from injustice.

With the progress of the ages has come a widening of men's thoughts and social vision, a new appreciation of the meaning of life with its attendant responsibilities and obligations. This awakening has occurred among men and women of all walks of life.

Contemplation of the progress of labor reveals the journey upward through the centuries from the status of slavery to serfdom, to villainage and, finally, to freedom, opening the road to a new plain of battle. That is the struggle to secure, for the individual, opportunity for development of his mental, physical and moral powers, so that he might enter into his rightful heritage.

Joy in life and work began with justice and freedom and is the inspiration of our present activities.

To show what progress labor has made, one has only to turn the pages of history.

The organized workman of today enjoys comforts of which his forefathers never dreamed.

He has comforts of home, heating, furnishing, sanitation, security, food and clothing. His children receive public school education more comprehensive than medieval universities could bestow. His opportunities for intellectual stimulation and social amusement have increased a thousand-fold. His advantages in transportation and communication have revolutionized living.

These same pages of history tell the story of how those who labor have been able to secure a much greater proportion of the social wealth. Wherever the working peoples have

made progress, some form of organization has been the agency that has transformed individual impotence into collective strength.

I represented the Canadian Labor movement at the annual convention of the British Trades Union Congress in Blackpool, England. In my message to that convention, I said in part:

"Canada, without fanfare, has become almost a fully-fledged welfare state. We have social legislation from the cradle to the grave—not everything that is needed, of course, but nevertheless, the basic legislation is on the statute books. We have free maternity hospitalization, children's allowances, protection for workers in time of injury, insurance against unemployment, pensions for the blind and disabled, mothers' and widows' allowances, pensions for veterans of wars, and pensions and old-age assistance for our senior citizens."

Since its inception in 1873, the trade union center of Canada has exercised its influence, first, to have the legislation enacted, and, second, to make periodic improvements.

THE ideal of modern education is to develop individual efficiency that will enable the worker to take creative satisfaction in good work done, with an understanding of its relation to social needs. This ideal is shaping the policies of the public schools and the universities. Within the Canadian Labor Congress we have participated at all levels of education to develop this concept.

Education in the trade union movement aims to stimulate and create a fundamental understanding of our society.

It considers and analyzes the dynamics of our industrial democracy

generally and the labor movement in particular. It stresses the philosophy and the social, economic and political objectives of organized labor.

Trade union education is designed to instruct and train members in methods that will enable them to discharge their union responsibilities more effectively and help them play a more important role in the labor movement. This training is the practical implementation of the immediate objectives and aspirations of the labor movement.

This program must also stress the importance of the labor movement as an integral part of our democratic society and, therefore, its acquired knowledge, its ever increasing strength and growing influence must be geared to methods that are in the best interests of the community as a whole.

It must also be compatible with our democratic way of life. There must no longer be the attitude that we live on the other side of the tracks. Organized labor is a part of society and of the community, just the same as the teacher, doctor or lawyer, just the same as the local Chamber of Commerce, the Home and School Association, the Service Club, the Welfare Council or the Town Planning Commission.

Canadian labor is not only in sympathy with but will support all movements for the conservation and betterment of humanity. In fact, a compelling sense of responsibility for human conservation and the desire to protect the interests of the individual are among the causes for organization among the workers.

We want our children to have sound bodies and healthy minds. We would fit them for productive living and would (Continued on Page 31)

A National Emergency

'Federal Aid for School Construction Has Become More Urgent Than Ever'

By **CLIFFORD P. CASE**
U.S. Senator from New Jersey

IN THIS world of ours we are fundamentally in a race between education and catastrophe. Either we will have sufficient knowledge with which to solve our national and international problems or the catastrophe of an unwelcomed tyranny is bound to overcome us in our ignorance. That's why our free public school system is the great hope of our future preparedness and really the hope of the free world."

These are the words of General Omar N. Bradley, one of the nation's greatest military leaders—a man who fully appreciates the challenges of our present situation. It is encouraging to have a military man emphasize the importance of education.

The leaders of both political parties have been quick to outline emergency programs for armaments, for improving scientific training and other worthwhile causes. But there is less emphasis on improving our school system.

If there is anything to be learned from the recent Russian achievements, it is that one of the nation's greatest resources is its brainpower—the power to invent, to develop, to produce and to operate complicated weapons. And at the base of this is education.

We cannot expect to nurture scientific talent or, for that matter, any kind of talent in classes held in overcrowded and obsolete classrooms, or in basement boiler rooms, in school corridors or, even worse, in classes limited to half sessions.

This is a national emergency. Education is now as integral a part of



SENATOR CASE

our national security and national defense as the man with the bayonet or the pilot in the bomber. We have already lost several years by failing to enact an emergency program of federal assistance for school construction. In my own view, this program has become more urgent than ever. Rather than cut this program down or shelve it, I propose to add it to the broad program advocated by the Administration for stimulation of our scientific training.

It seems to me that we need both—not one or the other.

As things stand now, the education of our children depends in good part on accident of birth—whether they are born in a state which has resources and spends them on schools or whether they are unfortunate enough to be born in a state where schools are

low on the budget ladder. Their education depends, too, on whether they have the devoted services of good teachers and principals or whether they are subjected instead to the second-best ones.

We all know of the devoted services of many underpaid teachers and principals who are forced to subsidize their important work by taking extra jobs as painters, cab drivers, grocery store clerks and similar ways of earning a few dollars. It is understandable that many of these have chosen to leave the field of education and now are replaced by less qualified people.

The very least, it seems to me, that we can do for these sacrificing educators is to give them the facilities and tools they need to carry on their important work.

Last year the federal Office of Education reported that there were 2,295,000 pupils in our elementary schools in excess of normal capacity. The effects of this shortage of classrooms go far beyond the 2,295,000, for it is not just the ten to fifteen too many pupils crowded into some classrooms that suffer—it is the whole class. Many elementary school classes are now packed with forty to fifty children instead of the ideal of eighteen to twenty-five.

Principals and teachers have been forced to strain existing facilities in order to give some education to all students. The result has been an inevitable decline in quality.

This is not a situation which developed overnight. During World War II and the Korean War there was a virtual moratorium on school building, and this came at a time when the birth rate was constantly

setting new records. The result is that we found last year that we were 159,000 classrooms short.

Numerous school districts have strapped themselves, shouldering heavy burdens of taxation, to try to catch up. Some of these have now reached their debt limit and others are experiencing difficulty in marketing bond issues. Many conscientious school boards face the hard problem of how to improve teachers' salaries when all available funds have to go to provide the brick and mortar for schools.

Certainly one of the real values of the federal school assistance program is that it would help lift the building burden in local communities and make it possible to raise teachers' salaries—and doubling them on the average would not be too much.

I recognize that a program of assistance for school construction will cost a great deal of money. The Administration's program last year would have run to a half-billion dollars per year. This is a sizable sum, and its expenditure should receive thorough consideration.

Members of Congress have accepted quickly the necessity for the expenditure of two billion dollars more this year for the development of missiles, but there has been less speed in accepting the importance of the development of our youngsters.

Why must this be so?

We all know young men and women who should have made a greater mark in life, who had the potential

but lacked the encouragement and the stimulation of good schooling to achieve it. We have always taken for granted that our children will have a good education. This is as much a part of the American idea as that they will have steady work, decent homes and a peaceful old age.

Unfortunately, we cannot take good schools for granted, and it seems to me that people in the labor movement have a particular stake in the school system. Since you represent such a large part of the nation's population, when schools are below standard it is your children who will suffer.

MOST of us do not have the means to provide private schooling or extra training. The great interest of union members and others in Parent-Teacher Associations and in adequate school budgets has resulted in as much concern with the spending of the educational dollar as with the spending of the dollars in their own household budget. This is wholesome indeed.

In addition, there have been some remarkable contributions by such organizations as the International Ladies' Garment Workers local in South River, New Jersey. There the headquarters has been turned over to more than 200 high school students who found there was no room for them in the nearby high school.

While this makeshift arrangement is better than no education at all, it is hardly befitting the high standards which we are trying to maintain.

It seems to me that a recent editorial in the *Washington Post and Times Herald* summed up the federal responsibility very well indeed. This editorial said:

"Education being in the United States primarily a local responsibility, the main burden of revitalizing the country's schools and colleges must be assumed in the states and several school districts and by voluntary efforts of industry and labor and other citizen organizations. But the federal government must make two major contributions.

"First, for an emergency period, it must render financial aid to the states on a generous and imaginative scale in order to enable them to overcome the terrible lag that has developed from the two generations of neglect. Second, the federal government must provide leadership to arouse the nation to the gravity of this neglect and to the vital importance of education as an element of national security.

"Happily, the American educational structure, though impoverished, is essentially sound; it rests on a rich tradition and it can count upon the fervent support of the American people when they are led to understand what is at stake. It constitutes nothing less than the key to the American future."

Other bad effects of inaction on the school front are unemployment, delinquency and crime, which over the years will cost the community and the government much more than the

Overcrowding and makeshift arrangements hardly befit the high standards we are trying to maintain.



provision of an adequate education. This is not only the right thing to do, it is the sensible thing to do.

While we have been debating school legislation, the Soviet Union has greatly expanded its educational facilities. For example, in the past fifteen years the average number of pupils per teacher in elementary and secondary education has been reduced from twenty-seven to seventeen. And our educational authorities report that in the Russian ten-year elementary and secondary system their youngsters receive more hours of instruction than our children receive in our twelve-year system.

IT IS clear that all along the educational line we need to make far greater efforts to encourage the fullest possible development of the minds of our youth and to assure that talent will not be wasted for lack of opportunity.

In concentrating immediately on the elementary schools and the high schools, we must not overlook the fact that there is rapidly developing a tremendous shortage in college capacity.

It is clear that unless we take some drastic steps to expand the capacity of our colleges, many of our brightest young men and young women will have no place to go. It is also clear that unless we find ways of reducing the constantly rising cost of higher education, many of our brightest young men and young women will be priced out of a college education.

The U.S. Office of Education has recently reported that the average cost of attending college is now \$2000 a year, or \$8000 for a four-year education. In families where there are three or four youngsters looking toward a college education, the financing of such training poses a formidable, and often insurmountable, obstacle.

There have been many proposals for the establishment of a broad program of scholarships, perhaps with federal and state support. A scholarship program would help many gifted youngsters attend college who might not otherwise do so.

On the other hand, it must be recognized that unless the total capacity of colleges is expanded, the new scholarship programs will merely

bring about a displacement process. A scholarship program would do nothing at all to meet the sheer shortage of buildings, laboratories, teachers and other facilities necessary for a first-class education.

Similarly, there have been suggestions for long-term loan programs under which a student or his parents could borrow the necessary funds to finance a college education and then repay them when he has begun earning a living. This suggestion, I am told, has been criticized by some of the potential recipients on the basis that, although they desire a college education, they are reluctant to mortgage their futures to the extent that might be necessary.

The cost of a college education is so high that the repayments would weigh heavily on their budgets as they go about the usual process of getting married and raising a family—and this process is certainly desirable socially. A loan program might be helpful to a point, but there is a real question as to how much of the problem it would remedy.

From the viewpoint of the educational institutions themselves, neither of these programs meets the problem of how to avoid increasing the cost of tuition. It is well known that tuition fees meet only approximately half the cost. Thus, each step toward expanding the size of the student body makes the financial situation of our existing colleges, particularly the private colleges, even more pressing.

I have introduced legislation to provide federal assistance to states interested in making a thorough survey of their anticipated needs in the field of college education and to help them determine what steps should be taken to meet this need.

Unfortunately, in many of our communities there are no public facilities available for higher education. Accordingly, I have introduced a companion bill in which I have suggested that the federal government assist the states in the establishment of the two-year junior colleges which are known as "community colleges" in many cities.

The advantages of the community college program are easily identifiable to readers of this publication. It would make possible training at a readily accessible place and without

the extensive cost of dormitory living. The community colleges are particularly adaptable to meeting the needs for training beyond the high school, but for less than four years of college. In many fields of work, particularly technical in nature, there are now five jobs requiring two years of college for each one requiring a four-year college education.

It will be by the growth of techniques such as this that we can come even close to meeting the need for space for another 3,000,000 qualified young men and women who will be seeking admission to college in the next dozen years.

Certainly, people in the labor movement realize that adequate education is essential to operating the complicated machines which are the key to our record of high productivity. We need educated men and women as never before.

THE failure to expand facilities for higher education will take its toll as our population continues to grow and the number of doctors, scientists, teachers and ministers does not grow apace. It will take its toll in industry and commerce as higher and higher skills are demanded and proportionately fewer and fewer young people can provide them. The nation will lose the benefits of the talents and brainpower of the bright youngsters, and this loss can be counted in discoveries unmade and in services unrendered.

The suggestions I have made offer only a part of the solution. The basic problem is really one of upgrading the public attitude toward education. The low rung on the economic and social ladder occupied by our teachers should be recognized and drastic steps taken to overhaul this unjust and unworthy situation.

To this extent, certainly, the revelations about the emphasis of Russia on its educational program should serve a useful purpose.

We would not hesitate to spend millions—or billions—on some new weapon for the defense of our nation. We should be equally willing to spend the necessary amounts to provide the best rounded educational program for our youngsters, for with them lies the future of our nation.

Do 'RIGHT TO WORK' STATES *Protect Labor Standards?*

Prepared by AFL-CIO Department of Research

"RIGHT TO WORK" advocates proclaim their concern for every worker—for his right to a better way of life through "freedom of choice." Statistics on labor standards in these states, however, show that this freedom often includes the right to work for sub-minimum wages, the freedom for children to work, the right to have less unemployment insurance and less workmen's compensation.

State legislatures generally have failed to provide necessary social legislation, but "right to work" states have among the worst records. These are the states which claim that "right to work" laws show a state's concern for the individual worker.

The following analysis refutes this false claim:

MINIMUM WAGES

Twelve of the "right to work" states have no minimum wage law. In these twelve states workers have the right to work for almost no wage at all. No state law prevents employees in these states from working for \$1 a day in 1958, when the federal minimum wage standard of \$1 an hour is obviously inadequate.

Six "right to work" states do have minimum wage statutes, but five of these are substandard.

In Arkansas citizens have the right to work for \$1.25 a day (minimum standard of 15.6 cents an hour).

South Dakota protects the right to work for \$15 a week.

In an Arizona store a clerk has the right to work for 50 cents an hour.

In North Dakota a worker in one of the major trades may be lucky enough to have the protection of a 65-cent hourly minimum—35 cents below the federal standard.

In Utah a worker in the major trades may have a higher standard

—one more cent, still 34 cents below the federal standard.

Only one "right to work" state, Nevada, meets the federal minimum wage standard of \$1 an hour.

Seventeen of the eighteen "right to work" states thus fail to meet the low federal minimum wage standard of \$1 an hour. These are the states which claim special interest in the right of every individual worker. The right to what? The right to poverty?

Only six of the states without "wreck" legislation have no minimum wage statutes. Only a third of the non-"right to work" states have ineffective minimum wage laws, and all but one provide for less than the federal standard.

CHILD LABOR

Many "right to work" states give children the right to work—sometimes as long as they like. For example, in Alabama, Iowa, Georgia, Mississippi, South Dakota and Texas there is no minimum age prescribed by law for work on farms—even during school hours.

In over three-quarters of the "right to work" states children have the right to work more than eight hours a day. In over two-thirds, children under the age of 18 can work in hazardous occupations without any state agencies authorized to determine what occupations are hazardous for minors under 18.

In sixteen of the eighteen states there are no maximum weekly hours for minors under 18. In fourteen of the eighteen "right to work" states there is no prohibition against night work for children less than 16 years of age. In fifteen out of eighteen "right to work" states, minors aged 16 and 17 can work at night. In eleven out of eighteen of these states,

no employment certificates are required for minors under the age of 18.

What does this mean? It means that the "right to work" states generally fail to meet or even approximate the recommended child labor standards developed by the International Association of Governmental Labor Officials for State Child Labor Legislation.

Only two of these states meet the maximum weekly hours standards. Only three meet the standards of night work for minors 16 and 17. Only four meet the standards of maximum daily hours or night work for minors under 16. Only five meet the standard on not employing minors in hazardous occupations and only seven meet minimum age standards for factory employment or for employment certificates.

Most state laws are inadequate in terms of these standards. But almost half of the states which have no "right to work" laws meet the minimum age for factory employment standards. Over half of them meet the hazardous occupation and employment certificate standards. A majority of these non-"right to work" states meet at least three of the standards to prohibit oppressive child labor.

But well over a majority of the "right to work" states meet none or only one or two of these standards. Only five—or less than a third—of the "right to work" states meet at least three of these child labor standards.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

"Right to work" state legislation also fails to show concern for the problem of the unemployed worker. Unemployment insurance legislation is designed to meet one of the work-

er's most pressing problems at some periods of his life—how to maintain his family when he is out of a job. But weekly payments to meet this need in "right to work" states are usually down at the bottom of the list—both in the amount of money allotted and the duration of the payments.

Seventeen of the eighteen "right to work" states provide for unemployment insurance payments of less than \$30 a week. In eleven "right to work" states jobless pay is less than \$25 per week.

Not one of the "right to work" states provides for duration of maximum benefits for longer than twenty-six weeks. Only four provide for a twenty-six-week duration. Fourteen of the eighteen "right to work" states provide maximum jobless pay for less than twenty-six weeks.

States without "right to work" laws have better unemployment insurance payment provisions. Almost one-third of the non-"right to work" jurisdictions provide for average weekly benefits of \$30 or more per week. Twenty-four provide for \$25 or more a week. Only seven (or about one-fifth) provide for weekly unemployment insurance payments of less than \$25. This is a far cry from almost three-fourths of "right to work" states.

No one in the labor movement is proud of our inadequate workmen's compensation system with its inadequate and limited payments. But the "right to work" states' laws are even worse than those of other states in terms of their unemployment compensation provisions.

In terms of duration of benefits, the best "right to work" state provision is eighth on the list of states, North Carolina; then comes Utah, eleventh from the top, then Arizona, twentieth, Nevada, twenty-fourth. But even more shocking, of the seventeen states at the very bottom of the list arranged from highest to lowest in terms of length of duration of benefits, fourteen are "right to work" states.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

The pattern of workmen's compensation provisions in "right to work" states shows no greater concern for the injured worker than for the unemployed.

Taking a list of all the states, arranged in order of the maximum weekly payment for a family of four provided under state laws for workmen's compensation, the bottom half of the list includes almost all the "right to work" states.

At the very bottom, the last two states listed are South Dakota and Mississippi—both "right to work" states. Clustered right above these lowest state provision are the amounts provided by Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia. Only Arizona and Nevada put up a good showing on the ranking by payments.

Over half the "right to work" states are in the bottom third of the list.

Even the proportion of earnings replaced by maximum benefits for a family of four does not show a pattern of concern for injured workers in "right to work" states. How much of a worker's wages does the law grant a temporarily totally disabled

person and his family in these states?

At first glance the picture seems to be bad everywhere, with "right to work" states faring rather well in the comparison with other states. But a closer look shows that the proportion of wages replaced under provisions for temporarily totally disabled workers is especially pathetic in "right to work" states. All but three of the "right to work" states provide for a replacement of 50 per cent or less of wages lost by workers who are totally disabled for a temporary period.

Surely state provisions for workmen's compensation are a national disgrace, and "right to work" states have not improved the record of state governments as a whole with their provisions for injured workers.

SUMMARY

A checklist of labor standards legislation conclusively illustrates the failure of "right to work" states to

LEGISLATIVE CHECKLIST FOR STATES WITH 'RIGHT TO WORK' LAWS

	Min. Wage	Child Labor	Unemp'tment Ins.		Work- men's Comp.
	No min. wage	Less than 3 standards met	Avg. weekly benefit under \$25	Less than 26 weeks max.	Max. weekly benefit under \$36
Alabama	X	X	X	X	X
Arizona .....	..	X	..	..	..
Arkansas	X*	X	X	X	X
Florida	X	..	X	X	X
Georgia	X	X	X	X	X
Indiana	X	X	..	X	..
Iowa	X	X	..	X	..
Mississippi	X	X	X	X	X
Nebraska	X	X	..	X	X
Nevada .....	..	X	..	..	..
North Carolina...	X	..	X	..	X
North Dakota...	X†	X	..	X	..
South Carolina..	X	X	X	X	X
South Dakota....	X†	X	X	X	X
Tennessee	X	..	X	X	X
Texas	X	X	X	X	X
Utah .....	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	X	..	X	X	X
TOTAL....	14	13	11	14	12

* Statute provides \$1.25 per day.

† Statute provides \$15 a week.

live up to their proclaimed concern for the welfare of individual workers in the United States.

Instead of standing at the top of the "good conduct" list of states—and state standards generally have always failed to reach desired levels—most "right to work" states have consistently poor records. Two-thirds of them have an almost perfect batting average of bad laws in every field we have mentioned.

THE table entitled "Legislative Checklist for States With 'Right to Work' Laws" illustrates this general pattern of bad labor standards legislation in these states. While it is true that Arizona and Nevada stand out as exceptions to prove the rule, it is clear that "right to work" states have provided their citizens with laws guaranteeing the "right" to low labor standards—to poor compensation for injured workmen, to disgraceful minimum wage standards, to child labor, to insecurity while jobless.

This record on labor standards legislations shows the double disadvantage of "right to work" laws: Not only do the legislatures fail to provide protection for working people, but also the "right to work" law itself weakens unions and their power to bargain for better wages and working conditions.

"Right to work" laws are designed to exploit workers, to make it possible to keep workers at the lowest point on the economic scale, to prevent them from improving their way of life. "Right to work" laws provide

for the "right" to poor working conditions, poverty and injustice. "Right to work" advocates' arguments about benefits to workers are ridiculous, since the facts are the opposite:

"Right to work" laws seek to

weaken unions. States with "right to work" laws generally have poor labor standards legislation. Workers in these states, therefore, have two strikes against them in their efforts to improve their working conditions.

NUMBER OF PERSONS CLAIMING UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BENEFITS

State	Week Ending Jan. 18, 1958	Rate* (%)	Change from Year Ago
North Carolina	62,721	7.3	+ 21,483
Virginia	27,049	3.7	+ 13,479
Alabama	40,511	7.1	+ 17,985
Florida	24,462	3.1	+ 10,350
Georgia	46,598	6.0	+ 16,918
Mississippi	22,787	8.8	+ 4,836
South Carolina	26,700	6.4	+ 9,101
Tennessee	64,506	9.7	+ 16,850
Indiana	74,249	6.5	+ 30,091
Iowa	18,847	4.3	+ 4,321
Nebraska	10,172	4.5	— 110
North Dakota	6,987	10.3	+ 1,476
South Dakota	3,812	5.1	— 392
Arkansas	26,175	9.9	+ 4,733
Texas	55,836	3.1	+ 23,592
Utah	11,156	5.8	+ 3,508
Arizona	10,400	5.2	+ 4,226
Nevada	6,927	9.8	+ 3,132
TOTAL in 18 states	539,955		+ 186,583
NATIONWIDE	2,849,950	6.8	+1,125,085

* Unemployment insurance claimants as per cent of all persons covered by unemployment insurance.

IMPORTANT POINTS TO REMEMBER WHENEVER YOU SPEND MONEY

- ★ *Patronize Stores That Have Been Unionized* ★
- ★ *Buy Products That Carry Union Labels* ★

ASK TO SEE UNION LABELS, CARDS AND BUTTONS

Books for the Wage-Earner

By HERBERT BORCHARDT

The author is a delegate to the Washington Central Labor Council and a trustee of the District of Columbia Public Library.

THE PRESIDENT'S proclamation designating the week of March 16 to 23 as National Library Week has a special significance for the millions of us who are members of organized labor.

American workers, their wives and their children form the largest group of citizens who enjoy the free though priceless access to the world of books available to them through the public libraries of their cities, towns and hamlets.

Labor has urged the establishment and maintenance of the public library as earnestly and persistently as it has demanded and supported the system of free public schools. National Library Week focuses a spotlight on the benefits and privileges of free membership in the local public library to point the way toward greater use of its facilities.

Over 150 years ago Benjamin Franklin led the way when he set up the Mercantile Library in Philadelphia for apprentices who wished to advance themselves by learning more than their work at the bench afforded. The library was eagerly patronized and is still in existence. A similar upsurge of desire to know more is rising in labor today.

Whatever a worker's age, his life is spanning a period of progressive changes in his living conditions—greater changes than have ever occurred before in human history. Food, housing, transportation, employment, education, entertainment—all the contacts with his world—are shuffled and redealt these days with such velocity that he must keep well informed or lose touch with his surroundings.

The worker of today reads more than yesterday's worker. He wants to know more and he has more time to learn what he wants to know. TV

has merely sharpened his appetite. He goes to the public library to find out more about things that have aroused his interest.

A devoted, enlightened group of union officers have led him on the way by bringing together the staff of the local library and the members of the local union. Library workshops have been organized. Following the trail blazed by these pioneers, labor has developed a remarkable growth of cooperation between the local public library and the local labor unions of the community. Notable centers of this progress may be found in Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Baltimore and a number of other communities.

What advantages do the local unions gain through this closer contact with the public library? A report of the American Library Association lists the following services in order of their apparent appeal:

- ▶Arrange loans of materials for union training programs.
- ▶Provide background materials for contract negotiations.
- ▶Loan films for union meetings.
- ▶Provide special materials on subjects such as older workers or health and welfare programs.
- ▶Place exhibits in the libraries about unions.
- ▶Arrange film discussion programs.

▶Speak to local union meetings about reading materials and library services.

▶Set up lending libraries or deposit collections of books in union headquarters.

▶Put up exhibits at union meetings.

▶Establish sections dealing with labor literature.

▶Provide information to high school students about labor and the part it has played in the development of our country.

▶Publish lists of books on unions or on subjects of particular interest to unions.

Many additional services can doubtless be arranged according to the local needs or desires. One example would be bookmobile service to outlying districts.

In this age of technology and automation, it is not surprising to note workers' particular concern with these subjects. But trade unionists read for enjoyment as well as for information or instruction.

For us of organized labor, National Library Week brings a welcome message: If you have not already done so, apply to your local public library for your free membership card. And help your local union arrange a program of cooperation with your local public library. You will find both steps rewarding indeed.

You're Invited!

YOU'LL BE SORRY if you miss the spectacular 1958 edition—biggest and best yet—of the famous AFL-CIO Union Industries Show. Make it your business to see this outstanding event. Bring the whole family with you. The great spectacle, sponsored by the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department, is guaranteed to educate, thrill and delight all who see it. The place is Cincinnati and the dates are April 25 to 30. Admission is free. Will we be seeing you there?



The mammoth aircraft carrier Ranger and its potent planes made a profound impression on visiting union men.

Navy Plays Host to Labor

ON-THE-SCENE inspection of two key elements of America's national defense—the Navy's air arm and the missile launching program—was made by members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council during the recent meeting in Florida.

On February 8, Council members were guests of the Navy on the U.S.S. Ranger, one of the newest of the nation's fleet of super-aircraft carriers, which had been cruising in the Atlantic waters off Florida.

On February 10, the Air Force flew Council members to Cape Canaveral, near Orlando, to inspect the country's prime missile experimental and launching site.

The Navy's invitation was extended through Vice Admiral Edward W. Clexton. He addressed the Council the day before the trip.

The group was transported in landing barges from the Navy base at Miami to the huge carrier, one of the Forrestal class, where they were guests of Rear

Admiral Charles D. Griffin, commander of Carrier Division Four, and Captain Charles T. Booth II, commander of the Ranger.

During the visit to the ship, which went several miles off shore, the AFL-CIO officials watched exercises in which super-sonic jet planes of the Skywar-



President Meany on the bridge of the U.S.S. Ranger.

rior, Skyray and Skyraider types performed qualification tests for landing and takeoff. The visitors saw two destroyers refueled from the carrier.

Heading the AFL-CIO group were AFL-CIO President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, who voiced the union officials' admiration for the Navy's hospitality and the way in which the exercises were conducted.

The Council members flew north to Patrick Air Force Base, for an inspection of the Cape Canaveral missile testing center. The group was welcomed to the base by Major General Thomas Yates.

After seeing newly declassified movies of previous missile tests, both successful and unsuccessful, the Council members were driven through the nearby Canaveral testing center.

On the trip through the 15,000 acres of scrubby Florida seacoast land, they saw various industrial installations, landing pads and control centers for the missile tests and an occasional missile in preliminary stages of preparation for future tests.



James Suffridge (wearing cap), president of the Retail Clerks, is accompanied by Paul Phillips, leader of the Papermakers and Paperworkers, on vessel's deck.



A highlight in the refueling of two destroyers by the Ranger was followed by AFL-CIO's Secretary Bill Schnitzler during the exercises.

It was natural that Joseph Keenan should be interested in big ship's very intricate electrical installations. He is Electrical Workers' secretary.



New Horizons

By **PETER T. SCHOEMANN**

President, United Association of Journeymen
and Apprentices of the Plumbing and
Pipe Fitting Industry of the
United States and Canada

ONE of the most satisfying rewards of maturity in a trade union as well established as the United Association is the opportunity it affords to make headway now with programs for the future well-being of our members.

As the year began, our union was fully signed up for '58. All our national contracts have been successfully negotiated. Of course, we still face plenty of problems dealing with local union affairs, legislation, organization and jurisdiction—but these we are prepared to cope with, vigorously and constructively.

Release from the immediate pressures of bargaining provides this big advantage: It enables us to concentrate a greater investment of time, energy and money on meeting the all-important challenge of the future.

That challenge now confronts the entire trade union movement. We know that when atomic power is geared to the electronic brain, a new industrial revolution will sweep the nation, rendering present industrial techniques obsolete and wiping out millions of existing jobs.

Is it all very well for labor to call upon the government and private industry to prepare wisely for these developments so that major economic upheavals and mass unemployment can be avoided. But we of the United Association believe that trade unions have a greater responsibility than merely to sound such warnings. We think it is up to us to do some planning and preparing of our own.



PETER T. SCHOEMANN

This reasoning prompted my illustrious predecessor, the late Martin P. Durkin, to initiate an ambitious program of education and training which has been expanded and carried forward to the point where it is now available to virtually all our apprentices and journeymen.

The average plumber or pipefitter is a highly skilled mechanic who knows his trade backward and forward. Even though there was some dilution of skills in the wartime recruitment of workers to meet the national defense emergency, the members of our union rank high among the skilled crafts in their knowledge of present-day construction and production techniques.

Yet the truth is that they know only a fraction of what they will

have to learn in order to hold down jobs in the atomic age. Without waiting for a crisis to overtake us, the U.A. therefore is proceeding right now to teach its members such rarified subjects as basic science, higher mathematics and the intricate know-how required for atomic power plants and chemical and air-conditioning installations.

It takes that kind of knowledge to fit pipe to tolerances of less than 1/10,000 of an inch and to conduct steam from atomic furnaces at temperatures so high that the alloy pipe costing as much as \$1100 per foot must be cooled from the outside to prevent it from melting.

Believe me, it's quite an achievement to teach trigonometry and thermodynamics to working men, most of whom had to leave school and start earning a living at an early age. Yet we are proving each year that it can be done.

Of course, it cannot be done merely by handing a prospective candidate a book and telling him to read it. A number of our local unions are setting up elaborate schools in various parts of the country—and in Canada as well—to teach courses by the most modern methods to thousands of journeymen and apprentices. These are men who are so eager to acquire this knowledge that they give up their own time, at night after working hours, to attend classes.

The U.A. has established, by negotiation with employers, an International Training Fund. This fund is supported by contributions from all

contractors signing a national construction agreement, at a rate of two and one-half cents an hour for each journeyman and apprentice employed under the terms of the agreement. The fund is managed by an equal number of trustees from the U.A. and the National Constructors Association.

From this fund, grants are to be made, on a basis of need, to local unions setting up sound apprentice and journeymen training programs which meet the standards of the U.A. and are approved by the trustees.

In our own international headquarters in Washington—which, by the way, is the former American Federation of Labor Building, completely modernized from basement to roof—we have set aside an entire floor and equipped it as a model school. To this school come local union officers and teachers from every section of the U.S. and Canada to learn what they will need in the way of equipment for their own local schools and to pick up ideas on how to organize and conduct study courses.



The U.A. purchased the old AFL Building and has turned it into one of the most modern union headquarters in the land.

The biggest problem of our educational program has been to find well-qualified teachers—teachers who have both the practical knowledge that can be gained only from working at the trade and also the professional capac-

ity of knowing how to teach. The United Association, therefore, has concentrated most of its efforts, at the international level, on training teachers rather than individual members.

We expect as many as 400 of these teachers to come to Purdue University in Indiana next August for a week's intensive study and training courses conducted by the university staff. At the same time and place the winners in apprenticeship contests in more than forty states and several provinces of Canada will take part in a national competition for substantial cash prizes. This will be the fifth year the U.A. has sponsored these special study courses and apprenticeship contests.

Naturally, it costs our international union and its locals a sizable sum each year to conduct this educational program.

But we consider it a wise investment—an investment that will pay rich dividends in the future to our organization, to our forward-looking members, to cooperating employers and to our nation as a whole.

Scrutinize Banking Bill, AFL-CIO Urges

THE AFL-CIO has asked the House Banking Committee to take a long, hard look before approving a Senate-passed bill to codify and revise the nation's banking laws.

George D. Riley, legislative representative, told the committee last month that the bill was written on the basis of recommendations by a twenty-seven-member advisory committee composed largely of bankers.

The twenty-seven advisers, Mr. Riley conceded, are "in all likelihood honorable men of stature." But "since bankers are human beings," he warned, "it would not seem too strange if items of self-interest" were to be found in the "long, complicated and technical bill" drastically affecting "the entire banking system and the general welfare."

Congress would be outraged, the legislative representative observed, if a twenty-seven-member advisory committee of union officials were empowered to frame all detailed proposals for a thorough revision and updating of labor legislation. The lawmakers would be reluctant to let union leaders set wage rates, he said, as the bankers, in some measure, were allowed to make suggestions on the interest rates from which their institutions obtain revenue.

The banking bill, Mr. Riley asserted, "deserves at least as much caution and detailed study" from Congress as would a union-drafted labor relations bill "since the banking system is more complex and less familiar than are labor-management relations."

Mr. Riley warned the committee

against a loophole in the Senate-passed measure created by elimination of the federal usury law on installment-purchase contracts.

The existing federal usury law sets a maximum of seven per cent in interest charges in states that do not enforce their own maximum interest charges, he said. Repeal would leave buyers unprotected in those states which have not adopted usury statutes of their own.

The AFL-CIO legislative representative asked amendment of the bill to require the affirmative vote of a stated number of Federal Reserve Board members for major decisions. The Senate-approved measure would allow a simple majority to exercise control, and a President could effectively dominate policy, Mr. Riley said, by the device of not filling vacancies.



Secretary Schnitzler outlines AFL-CIO's principles to a parliamentary delegation from NATO countries.

Our Visitors From Other Lands

Henry Rutz conducts trade union leaders from Nigeria on a tour of the AFL-CIO Building. Visitors from abroad are Mr. Rutz's responsibility.



By HENRY RUTZ

International Representative, AFL-CIO

MANY readers of this magazine have undoubtedly been called upon from time to time to meet with foreign trade unionists visiting our country.

These foreign trade unionists come to the States to exchange trade union philosophy and trade union organizational techniques with their American counterparts in the hope that their experiences in this country will assist them in their dedicated work at home.

Some of them also come to discuss the problem of the slow but steady Communist infiltration in Asian and African worker organizations and

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Japanese legislators learn about the American labor movement from George Meany (at right) and staff men.

beg our assistance in combating this scourge.

We will not attempt here to go into the broader aspects of the foreign visitors' program but limit ourselves to a summary report on the briefing the visitors get at the AFL-CIO headquarters. A future article will describe some of the backgrounds of these trade unionists and how they put to use their American experiences upon their return to their homelands.

Last year over 300 appointments were held with foreign teams or individuals who visited our headquarters for a briefing on the structure and functions of the AFL-CIO. The total number of persons involved was over 2,000. The largest number of visitors came from Japan (219), France (134), India (119) and Mexico (114). In all, fifty-seven countries were represented.

The size of the teams ranged from five members to a group of twenty-eight trade union leaders from Indonesia. Most of the teams were composed of local and district trade union officials. Other teams consisted of local and national chamber of commerce presidents and secretaries; a dozen teams represented management, including chairmen of boards of directors; some teams were made up of labor ministry officials or of members of parliament; two or three teams were limited to editors and publishers. Most of the teams were under the sponsorship of the

International Cooperation Administration (ICA).

Individuals, on the other hand, were usually sponsored by the State Department (Smith-Mundt leadership exchange program). These were national trade union leaders; leading political figures such as high-ranking members of parliament, ministers of labor, mayors of cities, etc.; authors, editors and publishers; and even former royalty: Prince Louis Ferdinand, grandson of Kaiser Wilhelm II, who

introduced me to his distant cousin, a Prince of Romanov—both pretenders to nebulous thrones.

The groups or individuals are met in the lobby of the AFL-CIO Building, and welcomed on behalf of the officers of the federation. A short tour of the building is had, during which the inevitable question is asked: "How much did the building cost?"

After being told, our Far Eastern and some Latin-American friends

Secretary Schnitzler meets with trade unionists from Argentina.



always want to know what proportion of the cost was subsidized by our government! This question is understandable if you consider that some unions in the Far Eastern countries are organized from the top down by political leaders, and government parties supply offices and equipment for the functioning of "their unions."

When they enter the Executive Council chamber there are audible gasps from our visitors. European management people have often remarked that it is more impressive than any council room they have seen in America. The chair which is only two inches higher than the rest will elicit comments as to the difference between American and European practices in the seating of a president.

The Executive Council chamber and the large mosaic mural in our headquarters lobby are probably the most photographed studies made by

amateur and professional photographers visiting Washington. Reprints of these have appeared in publications all over the world, many of them having been taken by our visitors.

Of course, most of our trade union visitors want to "shake hands with President Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler." This is arranged when our two top officers are available.

After the tour, the teams are led to a conference room where the writer usually continues the briefing, followed by discussion and exchange of trade union policies. Our various departments are called upon to furnish experts when specific questions are discussed, such as the peaceful uses of atomic energy, automation problems, job evaluation, etc. The average visit lasts two hours.

Following are some general observations the writer wishes to record:

Europeans insist that our system of political education won't work in their countries; most Far Eastern unionists are unaware of any ICFTU activity in their areas; outside of Europe, regular dues are seldom collected (in Asia the unions are financed largely by political parties or by the governments; a Burmese federation actually collects dues—forty cents a year, paid at a rate of twenty cents semi-annually).

That the program is worthwhile is attested to by the letters we have received and by the newspaper and magazine clippings in which the visit to our headquarters is described as having furnished much valuable information, as having provided a new understanding of U.S. organized labor and as having cemented bonds of friendship and of solidarity between the visitors' organizations and the American labor movement.

Parley on Jobs Opens March 11

CONGRESSMEN and Senators will get a first-hand fill-in on the severity of the current recession when more than 1,000 trade unionists from every section of the land gather in Washington on March 11 for the AFL-CIO's emergency conference to put America back to work.

AFL-CIO President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, in the official call to the emergency conference on unemployment, declared all delegates during the three-day meeting will visit Capitol Hill to tell their Senators and Representatives "the facts of the unemployment situation" and urge immediate corrective action.

Mr. Meany and Mr. Schnitzler urged all national and international unions, state and city central bodies and directly affiliated locals to send delegations of responsible officials "in like numbers as their delegate strength at national conventions of the AFL-CIO."

The officers of the AFL-CIO declared:

"America is now in the midst of a serious economic recession. Unemployment is rising at an alarming rate.

"Already 25 per cent of our vast manufacturing capacity stands idle. Unless action is taken promptly, the situation will grow more serious.

"The lack of purchasing power, represented by the nearly five million jobless, will in turn cause new unemployment. The vicious circle will widen and today's recession will become more serious.

"The AFL-CIO is determined that this must not happen.

"To that end the AFL-CIO Executive Council has authorized the convening of an emergency national AFL-CIO Economic and Legislative Conference.

"The purpose of this conference will be to arouse the federal government, the Congress of the United States and the country at large to these dangers and the need for prompt remedial action.

"America can and must be put back to work. That is the only possible solution to our problems."

The conference will convene March 11 at the Sheraton Park Hotel in the nation's capital and run through March 13.

All international unions, state and local bodies and directly affiliated groups which plan to take part are urged to fill out registration forms and return them as quickly as possible to Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler at AFL-CIO headquarters.

NEW ERA OPENS IN TEXAS

Since Merger, Labor's Future Holds Promise

By **JERRY HOLLEMAN**

President, Texas State AFL-CIO

THESE WERE the words with which I closed the founding convention of the Texas State AFL-CIO:

"I believe that this is the greatest landmark in the history of Texas labor and that this is a day we will all remember. I believe that we will all look back and realize that this is one of the high spots of all our lives, and I am sure that none of us will regret the action that has been taken this week.

"I know that if we will go forward with the determination that our disagreements, our difficulties and our problems will be resolved within this body, we will always have a strong, united voice for labor in Texas. We will have difficulties, but let us solve them here, among ourselves. And now let us go forth with a dedication to serve the people of Texas and to serve them well."

As I read back over those words, I don't take back any of them. Actually, I have come to believe more than ever that a unified labor movement in Texas will accomplish in a period of years, and even of months, what otherwise would have taken decades.

There was good reason to speak of disagreements, difficulties and problems and their settlement "within this body" at the close of the Texas State AFL-CIO's first convention.

The merger itself had been accomplished a full year later than we had originally hoped because of difficulties and problems. On the very day on which those closing words were spoken, the convention had been the scene of three hours of heated debate over the wording of a resolution. There had been other problems before and during the convention, and, of course, there will be problems in

the months and years that lie ahead.

But we can already see beneficial effects accruing as the result of merger. The results are most immediately visible in the stepping-up of our workers' education program and the demand from over the state for more and more labor schools.

The value of labor unity can be seen, too, in a new tone of respect for the growing strength of organized labor on the part of editorial writers and commentators—a respect almost always coupled with the advice that "with new power come new responsibilities.

Merger results in the fields of political action and legislative programs in Texas will become evident more slowly, but we are confident that they will come. Labor's divided efforts of the past have obtained some progress; combined efforts are certain to result in greater progress.

Labor has had its ups and downs in the nearly 100 years of organized labor history in our state. Right now we think we're on the upgrade.

The united Texas State AFL-CIO carries into the future traditions spanning almost the entire history of Texas. The first union of record in the state was Typographical Local 28 in Galveston, organized in 1860. It is still in existence. Union traditions in Texas are linked with the traditions of the old West. In 1833 more than 300 cowboys went on strike against seven huge ranch companies which owned much of the Panhandle. Imported gunmen and Texas Rangers broke that cowboy strike.

Then there was the great Southwest Railway Strike in 1886. The Knights of Labor, led by Martin Irons, took on the railroad network of Jay Gould. With the courts, the laws and the law enforcement agencies on his side, Gould broke the strike. Martins Irons passed into history, but in an isolated cemetery between Waco and Temple a marker erected by the Missouri Federation of Labor in 1904 shows the burial place of this Texas labor leader.

Loss of the railway strike brought home to Texas workers the need for strengthening their organization, and repeated efforts were made to establish a statewide organization of unions. Meetings were held in 1889,



JERRY HOLLEMAN



Sherman Miles (left) directs political activities of the Texas AFL-CIO and Hank Brown is state body's director of education and research. The lady is Margaret Thornburgh, Western head of COPE women's work.

1891, 1895 and 1898, but it was not until 1900 that the Texas State Federation of Labor was established. Thereafter Texas always has had an active state labor body.

The first two decades of this century saw substantial union growth in Texas and tremendous gains legislatively and organizationally. Farmers and wage-earners planned together and worked together to achieve progressive legislation. But that coalition fell apart under the impact of the nationwide propaganda aimed at splitting farmers from labor.

With the formation of the State Industrial Union Council in 1937, Texas had two statewide labor organizations. In the early years of the new CIO organization, there was little cooperation between the State Federation of Labor and the State Industrial Union Council, but the restrictive labor laws passed by the Legislature in 1941, 1943 and 1947 drove both organizations into more and more joint legislative and political undertakings.

During the years immediately preceding merger, the Federation and the Council worked closely together in

the battle against more restrictive laws, but even with this cooperation labor lacked full effectiveness in the legislative halls.

Today, as a united labor movement, we are confident that the retreat before the anti-labor forces has ended and that the time has come to launch an offensive to restore to Texas labor equality at the bargaining table.

Knowing that this cannot be accomplished overnight, the Texas State AFL-CIO has set in motion a long-range program aimed at recovering lost ground.

A fundamental part of this program is to win the repeal or amendment of laws which have placed Texas unions at a disadvantage and which have denied our workers an effective right to organize and bargain collectively with their employers.

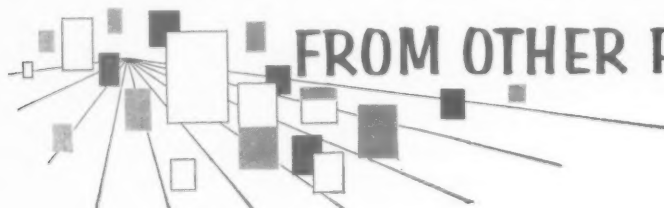
The founding convention of the Texas State AFL-CIO selected the people to direct this offensive and charged us with the responsibility for getting the job done. Fred Schmidt as secretary-treasurer and I as president—working with the executive board of the united organization—

will put forth every effort to get results.

Working with us on the state staff are H. S. (Hank) Brown, director of education and research, who in the past three years, as education director for the old State Federation of Labor, developed one of the country's outstanding workers' education programs; John McCully, director of public relations, who worked with the Federation for six years prior to merger as director of that organization's public relations, and Sherman Miles, former president of the State CIO Council, who heads the new department of political and legislative activities.

The misunderstandings which arose during twenty years of division have not all been erased by the mere fact of merger, but the cooperation of recent years and the mutual trust and understanding which have been developed in most areas of our state herald the opening of a new era for organized labor in Texas.

The future holds promise for the wage-earners of our state—and that promise, we feel, will be fulfilled.



FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS

A National Crisis

From AFL-CIO News

Labor has repeatedly pointed out that there is no need for unemployment in America. We have millions of potential consumers. We have the most tremendous productive capacity the world has ever known.

The present situation is as absurd as it is tragic for those affected, because there is no excuse for poverty and unemployment in the midst of the plenty, real and potential, that marks the American economy.

Unfortunately, many of the Eisenhower Administration statements are sadly reminiscent of those of President Herbert Hoover, the last Republican occupant of the White House, when the national economy was falling apart nearly thirty years ago. Hoover kept talking about prosperity being just around the corner. Eisenhower spokesmen are talking about "automatic improvements" in just a few months.

Maybe they will be right—we hope so. But it would be safer and saner not to wait that long. The unemployed must eat and

pay rent and maintain their families today and tomorrow. They cannot wait idly while the Administration crystal ball gazers try to decide when "everything will be all right."

Immediate programs on taxes, public works projects, improved unemployment compensation and similar programs will help to make the present crisis shorter and milder.

America's workers—those in jobs and those hit by joblessness—want action now, not predictions and guesses.

Romney Goes Too Far

From Wisconsin CIO News

Only a few years ago George Romney of American Motors was thanking his lucky stars that he was dealing with a responsible union which was willing to take a little less than it had coming to it. The UAW knew that AMC was in trouble, and AMC workers took less from the company in bargaining than they had a right to expect.

Now that the Rambler line is blossoming forth, it has gone to Romney's head.

His ridiculous statements in Washington before the Kefauver Committee have gone too far.

Maybe he has a queasy feeling about the UAW's consumer rebate idea. After all, this idea was taken right out of a Romney speech. At any rate, it all goes to prove that workers need strong unions to deal with industrialists.

Indiana Boasts

From The New Era
(Reading, Pa.)

A major reason for big business support of so-called "right to work" legislation is evident in a full-page advertisement placed by the state of Indiana in a national magazine to attract industry. The advertisement lists twenty alleged "advantages" to industry by locating in Indiana. One of these "advantages" is Indiana's "right to work" law.

What this means to industry is that the state of Indiana officially has made it difficult for unions to exist. That, in turn, drives down the wage structure. And when carried to its logical conclusion, the advertisement is designed to convince manufacturers that they can find cheap, non-union labor in Indiana.

No wonder big business is pouring millions of dollars into propaganda and lobbying for a national law to smash unions. Labor is fighting these laws at state and national levels to prevent a pay cut for you.

Factory Toil in New England in 1836

By **HARRIET MARTINEAU**

In Society in America

Published in London in 1837

I VISITED the corporate factory establishment at Waltham, within a few miles of Boston. The Waltham Mills were at work before those of Lowell were set up. The establishment is for the spinning and weaving of cotton alone, and the construction of the requisite machinery.

Five hundred persons were employed at the time of my visit. The girls earn \$2 and some \$3 a week, besides their board. The little children earn \$1 a week. Most of the girls live in the houses provided by the corporation, which accommodate from six to eight each.

When sisters come to the mill, it is a common practice for them to bring their mothers to keep house for them and some of their companions, in a dwelling built by their own earnings. * * *

The managers of the various factory establishments keep the wages as nearly equal as possible and then let the girls freely shift about from one to another.

When a girl comes to the overseer to inform him of her intention of working at the mill, he welcomes her and asks how long she means to stay. It may be six months or a year or five years, or for life. She declares what she considers herself fit for and sets to work accordingly.

If she finds that she cannot work so as to keep up with the companion appointed to her, or to please her employer or herself, she comes to the overseer and volunteers to pick cotton or sweep the rooms or undertake some other service that she can perform.

The people work about seventy hours per week, on the average. The time of work varies with the length of the days, the wages continuing the same. All look like well-dressed young ladies. * * *

The shoe-making at Lynn is carried on almost entirely in private dwellings, from the circumstances

that the people who do it are almost all farmers or fishermen likewise.

A stranger who has not been enlightened upon the ways of the place would be astonished at the number of small square erections, like miniature schoolhouses, standing each as an appendage to a dwelling house. These are the "shoe shops," where the father of the family and his boys work, while the women within are employed in binding and trimming. Thirty or more of these shoe shops may be counted in a walk of half a mile.

When a Lynn shoe manufacturer receives an order, he issues the tidings. The leather is cut out by men on his premises, and then the work is given to those who apply for it—if possible, in small quantities, for the sake of dispatch.

The shoes are brought home on

Friday night, packed off on Saturday and in a fortnight or three weeks are on the feet of dwellers in all parts of the Union. The whole family works upon shoes during the winter, and in the summer the father and sons turn out into the fields or go fishing.

I knew of an instance where a little boy and girl maintained the whole family, while the earnings of the rest went to build a house. * * *

The deposits in the Lynn Savings Bank in 1834 were about \$34,000, the population of the town being then 4,000. Since that time both the population and the prosperity have much increased.

It must be remembered, too, that the mechanics of America have more uses for their money than are open to the operatives of England. They build houses, buy land and educate their sons and daughters.

Rubber Workers Ask Probe

THE United Rubber Workers have asked the House Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations to conduct an investigation of the prolonged O'Sullivan strike in Virginia. A decision on whether the group headed by Congressman Carl D. Perkins of Kentucky will make the inquiry is expected soon.

L. S. Buckmaster, president of the Rubber Workers, is urging the subcommittee to look into the O'Sullivan situation. Three hundred members of Local 511 were forced to strike almost two years ago after the employer flatly refused to bargain in good faith. The struck O'Sullivan heel and sole plant is located at Winchester, Virginia.

A decertification election was held last October. Under the Taft-Hartley Act only the strikebreakers could vote. No one was surprised when the Rubber Workers were decertified by 288 to 5.

An investigation, Mr. Buckmaster

said, would put the spotlight on "a labor law shortcoming which distinguished Americans have recognized as not only harmful to labor-management relations but to the nation."

Hundreds of members of the United Rubber Workers and other unions and fair-minded citizens from all walks of life have been communicating with their Congressmen, asking them to support an O'Sullivan investigation. The URW would like to see the Taft-Hartley Act amended so that the legitimate workers on strike would be permitted to vote.

In Akron, Ohio, where the international union has its headquarters, the *Beacon Journal* has called for a change in the Taft-Hartley Act's unfair provision that strikers have no vote. This is the "union-busting" section of the statute which General Eisenhower scored when he addressed the American Federation of Labor convention in New York as a candidate for President in 1952.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Jose Ramos Morales and Dalela Nazario of the Puerto Rico Department of Labor recently observed the methods used by Local 40 of the Ladies' Garment Workers in New York to integrate Spanish-speaking members into the union.

►Local 222, Allied Industrial Workers, has negotiated a contract with the American Lava Corporation, Chattanooga, Tenn., providing substantial wage improvements, a better vacation plan and increased pension and insurance benefits.

►Local 2 of the Printing Pressmen in Detroit has presented the first pension checks to members who had been employed in commercial shops. The labor-management plan covers 6,000 employees in 106 Detroit and Michigan printing plants.

►The Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union won an NLRB election at Commonwealth Plastics, Leominster, Mass., despite efforts by the company, including a small wage increase, to stave off a union victory.

►The Communications Workers won pay increases for almost 15,000 workers in the plant, traffic and accounting departments of the Mountain State Telephone and Telegraph Company, a part of the Bell System.

►Local 694 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Miami, won a highly satisfactory contract at Mal Marshall, Inc., manufacturers of men's sports and beach wear, after an 11-day strike.

►Local 11 of the Lithographers won a 15-cent hourly increase and many other benefits in a first contract with the Baker-Britt Company at Newark, N.Y., negotiated after a 35-week strike.

►Many Texas labor organizations are offering awards as part of the 1958 Texas State AFL-CIO Scholarship Program. These include the Texas State AFL-CIO, State Pipe Trades Association, State Association

of Electrical Workers, Iron Workers District Council of Texas, Odessa Central Labor Union, Austin Trades Council, Austin Carpenters Local 1266, Austin Office Employees Local 298, Wichita Falls Trades and Labor Council, and Dallas Motion Picture Operators Local 249-A.

►The Textile Workers Union of America won an 18-cent hourly package in an agreement with Crown Products in Philadelphia.

►The Washington Central Labor Council voted a contribution to the United Negro College Fund.

►An 11-cent hourly wage increase was won by Directly Affiliated Local 22879 in a contract with the Vitrified Wheel Company at Westfield, Mass.

►Directly Affiliated Local 18419, Massillon, Ohio, representing employees of

the Tyson Bearing Company obtained a three-year agreement in a strike settlement. The contract calls for a 15-cent hourly increase in the first year, annual improvement and cost-of-living increases, a new pension plan and better incentive and welfare provisions.

►Jack L. Meggison, 26, of Local 519, Plumbers, won the first annual Frank J. Rooney Award as the outstanding building trades apprentice in the Miami area of Florida.

►W. F. Strong is the new president of the merged Maryland-District of Columbia AFL-CIO body. He was named to succeed Harry Cohen of the Teamsters.

►Higher wages were gained at the Powers Paper Company, Springfield, Mass., in a contract negotiated by Directly Affiliated Local 20582.

Parents Need to Learn

By ROSALIE C. KRAUS
Vice-President, American Federation of Teachers

FOR ADEQUACY in education, in the light of changing times, there must be a complete change in the public's thinking. This change must come from within the hearts and minds of the American people.

Parents should return to school to learn respect for current needs of education and what their lack of respect and unrealistic thinking about it are doing to their children.

Teachers certainly face the problem of teaching adults before we can expect financing for better facilities, teachers' salaries and a curriculum that meets the needs of this new era.

Were parents to sit in today's classrooms, they would soon find out the need for higher teaching standards and modern school facilities.

Teachers have a vital role in bringing about a change in the public at-



ROSALIE C. KRAUS

titude toward education. Until that change is accomplished and becomes a basic part of our national thinking, all our other efforts will not keep us from educationally pauperizing helpless children who are forced by law to attend our public schools.

►Directly Affiliated Local 24369, Waterbury, Conn., gained a 7-cent hourly increase, a Christmas bonus and time and one-half on the second shift after 7½ hours in a contract with the Waterbury Watch Company.

►Local 88 of the Meat Cutters, St. Louis, obtained a contract with substantial improvements at 150 supermarkets and chain stores following a short lockout.

►Local 48 of the International Chemical Workers, Detroit, gained a 20-cent hourly package in a new contract with the International Salt Company.

►Higher pay and other gains were registered by the United Auto Workers after a strike at the York-Hoover truck body plant, York, Pa.

►Wage increases were obtained by Local 9, Office Employees, in an agreement with Milwaukee's Associated Hospital Services.

►Locals 25 and 47, Cement Workers, obtained increases averaging 14 cents an hour at the Lone Star Cement Corporation, Seattle and Concrete, Wash.

►Local 208 of the Ladies' Garment Workers gained higher wages in a two-year agreement with the Maurice L. Rothschild Company in Chicago.



Many local unions in Milwaukee have basketball teams in league play. Photo shows action in a game between Postal Clerks and Steelworkers.

►The Communications Workers contributed \$43,397 to the union's 1957 COPE fund-collection program. Only forty-two of the CWA's 728 locals failed to make a contribution.

►Chicago labor was set to honor Ed Doty, first Negro business agent of Plumbers' Local 130, at a testimonial dinner. All the top union leaders in the city were expected to attend.

Labor's Role in Society

(Continued from Page 12)

enable them to do the best work of which they are capable and then assure to them a just compensation.

The trade union is an institution created by human beings for specific purposes and functions connected with their vocational life. To trade unionists, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" means the guarantee of economic sufficiency and security, and any freedom and status corresponding to the vital functions they perform in society.

Men engage in business or professions to earn a livelihood. They may stop when they please, lock the front door when they please, cease manufacturing or producing when they please, without regard to the needs of the consumers.

It is too often forgotten that the workman, too, has his business—to manage to earn a livelihood. When workmen insist on certain terms of employment, they are not seeking to control the employer's business but to lay down the conditions of their participation in that business. Too many, in this modern day, still assume that the employer is to be thanked and regarded as a benefactor for paying wages at all.

In connection with every strike of any moment, we have observed, a certain segment of society takes up the cry of "public rights." As a rule, those who make it end by advocating some form of compulsory arbitration, or government control of wages, hours and conditions of labor.

Certainly a strike entails inconvenience and hardship, but is the public entitled to insist that a man shall work on terms that are unsatisfactory to him, simply because it needs his product?

A candid examination of the facts as they are will satisfy reasonable men that the interests and the rights of the public are seldom disregarded by organized labor.

The Canadian labor movement has insisted upon the inherent dignity and ability of wage-earners, and has declared that they are intelligently competent to deal with their own affairs in a democratic fashion, and to determine and formulate their own policies.

If present conditions were not so serious, it would appear absurd that at this time such a restatement of fact and principle should be found necessary.

WHAT THEY SAY

President Eisenhower—When the United States alone possessed atomic weapons and the Soviet Union possessed none, the United States proposed to forego its monopoly in the interest of world peace and security. We are prepared to take



the same attitude now in relation to outer space. If this peaceful purpose is not realized, and the worse than useless race of weapons goes on, the world will have only the Soviet Union to blame, just as it has only the Soviet Union to blame for the fact that atomic and nuclear power are now used increasingly for weapons purposes instead of being dedicated wholly to peaceful uses, as the United States proposed a decade ago.

The Soviet Union refused to cooperate in tackling the problem of international control of atomic energy when that problem was in its infancy. Consequently, it has now become too late to achieve totally effective control, although there can be, as we propose, a controlled cessation of further weapons testing and of the manufacture of fissionable material for weapons purposes.

W. L. McFetridge, president, Building Service Employees International



Union — When we read in the newspapers of the senseless attacks on innocent strangers by gangs of junior hoodlums, we ask ourselves in puzzlement: How come? What is going wrong? Why should young people feel impelled to beat up someone whom they did not know, someone who had never done them any harm? What lies behind this wave of violence as reported in the daily press?

We would like to suggest that one of the major factors causing young people to group in lawless gangs and

to engage in anti-social acts is a basic lack of self-respect. Hatred for one's self may come from poor home environment, slum conditions, falling behind in school, lack of work or recreation or purpose in life.

To cure the cancer of self-hate, you have to bring to the hater many things—a concept of the dignity of work, an ability to relax in play, the opportunity to develop his interests, a liking for others, a feeling of purpose in human existence.

What has this to do with trade unionism? A whole lot, I think. For trade unionism gives to the trade unionist all these things—an understanding of the importance of his job, a feeling of comradeship with his fellow workers, the chance to improve himself and the pride that comes from working with others in a worthwhile shared undertaking.

Walter P. Reuther, president, United Auto Workers—Despite the



charges and allegations directed against the UAW's collective bargaining proposal of a consumers' rebate, the fact remains that our proposal is economically sound and socially responsible, and the economics behind this proposal will stand the test of any impartial study and objective evaluation.

No one can challenge the fact that the giant corporations are getting a disproportionate share of the fruits of our economy and its rapidly advancing technology. It is this fact that has led to the present imbalance in our economy between productive power and purchasing power, which has resulted in the alarmingly dangerous increase in unemployment.

The tragedy of our present situation is that, at the very time that America should be fully utilizing its manpower through full employment and its productive capacity through full production in order to meet our increasing responsibility in the world and to satisfy our tremendous un-

filled human needs at home, the economy is limping along in low gear with idle manpower and idle machinery on the increase.

William O. Douglas, associate justice, Supreme Court—The idea of



class is foreign to us in this country. We are unable to function on a class basis for the simple reason that it is not part of our tradition. Part of this attitude is due to our history. We did not build this country on class lines. Nor did we have to displace a "class society" when we cleared the forests and built our cities and highways.

Man is born here not to class but to opportunity. No feudal livery marks him. He stands on his own. There is no tradition that limits his potentialities.

This philosophy permeates our politics. While the aim of European political parties has been to draw men of different ideologies into separate disciplined groups, the aim of our parties has been to unite divergent groups into one. Our aim is for unity. That means compromise of various ideas and ideologies and the doctrinaire acceptance of none.

William C. Birthright, president, Barbers International Union—At the



recent convention of the AFL-CIO at Atlantic City, strong action was taken toward the crucial legislative year now upon us. It is a critical year for labor.

The enemies of labor are organized for the purpose of destroying legitimate trade unions by oppressive legislation, such as "right to work" laws.

We face efforts to provide that labor organizations such as ours will not be privileged to establish a minimum price for the services we render.

Our members are urged to assert themselves in their respective cities and states, as citizens, by registering to vote. In all political campaigns, vote for your friends and defeat your enemies.